

Message Text

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 01608 01 OF 02 221819Z

73

ACTION EUR-25

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INT-08 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 OMB-01 PM-07 RSC-01 SAM-01

SCI-06 SPC-03 SS-20 STR-08 TRSE-00 NEA-10 PA-04

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, ECON, AU, GW, XT, US, NATO

SUBJECT: FRG FORMIN SCHEEL SPEAKS ON EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES, VIENNA, FEB. 20.

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY: FRG FORMIN WALTER SCHEEL
IN ADDRESS FEB. 20, VIENNA, EMPHASIZED STRENGTH OF US-FRG
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY TIES AND CONTINUED US
SUPPORT FOR EUROPEAN UNITY. IN REVIEW PRESENT STATUS
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PAGE 02 VIENNA 01608 01 OF 02 221819Z

US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS IN WAKE WASHINGTON ENERGY CONFERENCE,

SCHEEL CALLED FOR REDEFINITION THIS RELATIONSHIP, FOR A STRENGTHENING OF TRUST BETWEEN THE TWO CONTINENTS, FOR CLOSER COOPERATION IN PURSUING DETENTE WITH THE EAST AND FOR RESTRUCTURING BURDENS OF OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IN LIGHT OF CHANGED MILITARY CONDITIONS. SCHEEL DOWNPLAYED DISARRAY AMONG EUROPEANS AT WASH CONFERENCE, ATTRIBUTING THIS TO SERIES OF MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS ON BOTH SIDES AND AMERICAN HASTE TO GET THINGS DONE. OMITTING ANY DIRECT REFERENCE TO FRANCO-GERMAN BREACH, THE MINISTER EXPRESSED VIEW THAT WASH CONFERENCE NEVERTHELESS SUCCESSFUL FIRST STEP TOWARDS EVENTUAL WORLD-WIDE COOPERATION IN ENERGY AND MADE PLEA FOR CONSIDERATION INTERESTS OF LDC'S. IN WHAT WAS WIDE-RANGING TOUR D' HORIZON, SCHEEL OUTLINED US-EUROPEAN HISTORICAL TIES SINCE 1917, DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPEAN UNITY, EAST-WEST RELATIONS, DETENTE, SALT I, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, US-EUROPEAN TRADE AND AID AND MBFR. MINISTER SCHEEL'S REMARKS WERE HIGHLY COMPLIMENTARY TO US AND GENERALLY IN TUNE WITH MUCH OF OUR CURRENT THINKING. PRINCIPAL POINTS MADE BY FORMIN SCHEEL FOLLOW. (END SUMMARY)

2. BASIC US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS

SCHEEL EMPHASIZED MUTUAL INTERESTS BETWEEN EUROPE AND US, STATING THAT SURVIVAL OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE DUE TO EUROPE'S TIES TO US. PRAISING MARSHALL PLAN, HE NOTED THAT US AFTER WAR DID NOT BLOCK ESTABLISHMENT OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BUT, ON CONTRARY, SUPPORTED IT ALL THE WAY. HE SAID CONTINUED PARTNERSHIP OF US WITH THE COMMUNITY IS ESSENTIAL. CURRENT CLARIFICATION AND "ACTIVATION" OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONS ARE NEEDED SINCE MISUNDERSTANDINGS EXIST BETWEEN US AND EUROPE WHICH OVER LONG RUN COULD AFFECT THESE RELATIONS. THERE IS SUSPICION THAT EUROPEAN INTEGRATION HAS DEVELOPED INTO ECONOMIC RIVALRY AND CONFRONTATION AND THERE ARE INCORRECT ASSUMPTIONS THAT THE US IS SEEKING A "CONDOMINIUM" WITH SOVIET UNION.

3. THE NEW ATLANTIC INITIATIVE CAN INJECT NEW LIFE INTO THE EUROPEAN-AMERICAN DIALOGUE. BOTH SIDES EXPECT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 01608 01 OF 02 221819Z

FOLLOWING THEREFROM:

- A. NEW AND CONVINCING DEFINITION OF COMMON AIMS AND ASSUMPTIONS,
- B. STRENGTHENING OF CONFIDENCE BETWEEN OUR TWO CONTINENTS,
- C. CLOSE COLLABORATION IN DETENTE POLICIES TOWARDS

THE EAST.

D. UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING DISTRIBUTION OF DEFENSE
BURDENS IN THE ALLIANCE,

E. CONSIDERATION OF CHANGED MILITARY CONDITIONS IN THE
STRATEGIC CONCEPTS OF THE ALLIANCE.

4. THE VIEW FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC

SCHEEL OBSERVED THAT AMERICAN MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND
FEARS CONCENTRATE ON THE EEC AND ON THE EUROPEAN UNION
WHICH IS EMERGING "IN STILL UNCLEAR OUTLINES." HE
DESCRIBED THE AMERICAN VIEW OF THE COMMUNITY AS A
"STATE-OF-THE-NOT-YET-A-UNION-MESSAGE" (SIC). DIAGNO-
SIS OF PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE COMMUNITY IS SOME-
WHAT DIFFICULT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC; ALTHOUGH THE EEC
HAS ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO SPEAK AS ONE, INDIVIDUAL
"ACCENTS" FROM MEMBER COUNTRIES IMPEDE THIS ENDEAVOR.
AMERICA IS ASKING MUCH IN EXPECTING CLEAR AND QUICK
RESPONSES (FROM THE EC) TO IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. AT
THE SAME TIME THE NINE SHOULD NOT HAVE ILLUSIONS THAT
THE INTEGRATION PROCESS WILL BE FREE FROM DIFFICULTIES.

5. RELATIONS WITH THE PAST

SCHEEL NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE AND
THE COMMUNITY ARE PURSUING A COMMON POLICY OF
UNDERSTANDING AND EASING OF TENSIONS.
REFERRING BRIEFLY TO AUSTRIA, SCHEEL SAID HE WAS CON-
VINCED THAT AUSTRIA'S SPECIAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORI-
CAL POSITION WILL CONTRIBUTE SUBSTANTIALLY IN THE FUTURE
TO DEVELOPMENT OF EAST-WEST DIALOGUE; AUSTRIAN NEUTRA-
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PAGE 04 VIENNA 01608 01 OF 02 221819Z

LITY CAN BE RESPECTED AS A POSITIVE ELEMENT IN EASING
OF TENSIONS IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 01608 02 OF 02 221905Z

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6. DIALOGUE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST CAN BE CONTINUED, HOWEVER, ONLY ON BASIS OF STABLE POWER RELATIONSHIPS. ONE CANNOT OVERLOOK THE CHANGES IN THE RELATIONSHIP SINCE THE USSR HAS ADDED TO ITS NUCLEAR ARSENAL BOTH QUANTITATIVELY AND TECHNOLOGICALLY. CONCOMITANTLY, THERE IS AN IMPRESSIVE BUILDUP OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FLEET AROUND EUROPE. THERE ARE ALSO THE WELL-KNOWN STRATEGIC ADVANTAGES AND NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY OF WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES. THEREFORE, THERE ARE NO GROUNDS FOR EUPHOREA IN THE SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT FIELDS. NEVERTHELESS, NEGOTIATIONS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 01608 02 OF 02 221905Z

FOR THE CONTROL OF ARMS ARE FUNDAMENTAL AND THE LONG AND TIRING NEGOTIATIONS ARE WORTH THE EFFORT.

7. THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS ASSUMES CONTINUATION OF NATO, AND PROGRESS IN THE EAST-WEST DIALOGUE REQUIRES THAT THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE BE REVITALIZED. THIS REVITALIZATION SHOULD PROCEED ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

- A. STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PROCESSES WITHOUT IMPEDING A FUTURE, INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY BUT ALSO MOVING EUROPEAN AND NORTH AMERICAN POLITICAL IMPULSES IN SAME DIRECTION,
- B. NEW FORMULATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND USA,
- C. RATIONALIZATION OF AND COOPERATION IN THE SECURITY FIELD THROUGH BETTER AND MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF TASKS AND BURDEN SHARING.
- D. COMMON EFFORTS ON LIMITATION OF ARMS.

8. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN US AND COMMUNITY
SHEEL SAID MAY IRRITATIONS BETWEEN US AND EC ARE DUE TO MISUNDERSTANDINGS. POLEMICS BENEFIT THE IMAGE OF POLITICIANS BUT NOT THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM. EXPANSION OF THE EC HAS NOT IMPEDED US FOREIGN TRADE; COMMUNITY HAS LONG BEEN ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT IMPORTERS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FROM THE US. FEARS THAT EC AGREEMENTS WITH EFTA, MEDITERRANEAN, AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES GO AGAINST US EXPORT INTERESTS ARE UNFOUNDED AS DEMONSTRATED BY RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN US BALANCE OF TRADE. MOREOVER, GENERALIZED TARIFF PREFERENCES FOR ALL LDC'S SHOULD ALLEVIATE THESE FEARS.

9. SOLUTIONS TO VITAL QUESTIONS OF THE GLOBAL ECONOMY, INCLUDING DISTRIBUTION OF LIMITED ENERGY RESOURCES, ARE NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT CLOSE COOPERATION BETWEEN EUROPE, THE US, CANADA AND JAPAN. HARD TO IMAGINE HOW LDC'S CAN SAFEGUARD THEIR EXPORT EARNINGS WITHOUT SUCH COOPERATION. RELATIONS BETWEEN CONSUMER AND PRODUCER COUNTRIES AS WELL AS TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT REQUIRE CONTINUOUS CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE INTERESTED PARTIES. US INITIATIVE IN CALLING AN ENERGY CONFERENCE GAVE IMPORTANT IMPETUS TO THIS ENDEAVOR AND ITS IMPACT GOES WELL BEYOND THE LARGE ENERGY CONSUMING COUNTRIES. WASHINGTON CONFERENCE WAS ONLY ONE STEP IN FINDING A FORMULA FOR COOPERATION AMONG ALL INTERESTED PARTIES.

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 01608 02 OF 02 221905Z

10. FINALLY, SCHEEL OBSERVED THAT WE MUST GUARD AGAINST DELUSION THAT THERE WILL BE NO DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE US. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOT MAKE EACH QUESTION THAT ARISES A TEST OF THE ALLIANCE. FAIR RULES SHOULD PREVAIL IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE US AND COMMUNITY INTERESTS COLLIDE. IN CONCLUSION, SCHEEL SAID THAT EUROPEAN- AMERICAN PARTNERSHIP HAS DEEP ROOTS WHOSE PILLARS ARE THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM AND THE DIGNITY OF MAN.

11. COPIES OF GERMAN TEXT OF SPEECH BEING POUCHED TO DEPT AND SELECTED ADDRESSEES. END UNCLASSIFIED.

12. COMMENTS: BEGIN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. FOREIGN MINISTER SCHEEL'S SPEECH, DESIGNED FOR A LARGE AND DIVERSE AUDIENCE, CLEARLY EMPHASIZED HIS VIEW THAT A CLOSE EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US IS ESSENTIAL IN DEALING WITH BOTH ECONOMIC AND POLITICO-MILITARY PROBLEMS OF THE 1970'S. HIS POSITIVE SUPPORT FOR THE ALLIANCE, COMBINED WITH THEME THAT THE COMMUNITY WILL HOLD TOGETHER DESPITE THE INDIVIDUALITY OF ITS MEMBERS, HELPS COUNTER LOCAL FEARS THAT ENERGY CRISIS HAS SET IN MOTION CENTRIFUGAL FORCES THAT IMPEDE US-EUROPEAN COOPERATION. END LIMITED OFFICIAL USE HUMES

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